

station, who resigned in protest in 1997 when the station was taken away, also have had various charges leveled against them and complain of telephone threats and surveillance by persons in unmarked cars". Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved,*

**SECTION 1. SENSE OF THE SENATE ON ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MEASURES BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU.**

It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the erosion of the independence of judicial and electoral branches of the Government of Peru and the blatant intimidation of journalists in Peru are matters of serious concern to the United States;

(2) efforts by any person or political movement in Peru to undermine that country's constitutional order for personal or political gain are inconsistent with the standard of representative democracy in the Western Hemisphere;

(3) the Government of the United States supports the effort of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to report on the pattern of threats to democracy, freedom of the press, and judicial independence by the Government of Peru; and

(4) systematic abuse of the rule of law and threats to democracy in Peru could undermine the confidence of foreign investors in, as well as the creditworthiness of, Peru.

**SEC. 2. TRANSMITTAL OF RESOLUTION.**

The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the Secretary of State with the request that the Secretary further transmit such copy to the Secretary General of the Organization of American States, the President of the Inter-American Development Bank, and the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of calendar No. 377, S. Res. 208.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 208) expressing the sense of the Senate regarding United States policy toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and European Union, in light of the Alliance's April 1999 Washington Summit and the European Union's June 1999 Cologne Summit.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

**AMENDMENT NO. 2776**

(Purpose: To make technical amendments)

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative assistant read as follows:

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], for Mr. LEVIN, proposes an amendment numbered 2776.

The amendment is as follows:

In section 1(b), strike paragraph (1) and insert the following:

(1) on matters of trans-Atlantic concern, the European Union should make clear that

it would undertake an autonomous mission through the European Security and Defense Identity only after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had declined to undertake that mission;

In section 1(b)(5), strike "must" and insert "should".

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I wish to explain my amendment to S. Res. 208 expressing the sense of the Senate on United States policy toward NATO and the European Union and my own personal view regarding the desirability of our European Allies conducting operations in their own backyard.

My amendment makes three important changes to the language of the resolution as reported out by the Foreign Relations Committee.

First of all, the amendment substitutes "the" for "its" before "European Security and Defense Identity" to make the point that the European Security and Defense Identity, or ESDI, is being developed within, not outside, the NATO Alliance. This simple fact is enshrined in a number of North Atlantic Council communiques and declarations, starting with the Declaration of Heads of State and Government issued at the Council meeting in Brussels on June 11, 1994. This is important because the development of the ESDI within the Alliance means that, as the 1994 Brussels Declaration stated, "NATO will remain the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on security and defense commitments of Allies under the Washington Treaty."

Next, my amendment deletes the references to NATO being "offered the opportunity to undertake the mission" and then that NATO "referred it to the European Union for action." The first point here is that on one has to offer a mission to NATO; the North Atlantic Council is in permanent session so that it can continuously review events that could impact on stability in the Euro-Atlantic area and can react to them, if necessary. Consequently, it doesn't have to be offered an opportunity to undertake a mission; it has that responsibility and the means to effect it on a continuing basis. The next point is that NATO doesn't refer a mission to the European Union; the EU will undoubtedly have been following such an event on its own and won't need a referral from NATO to do so. And the final and perhaps most important point is that this change removes the connotation that somehow the European Union is subservient to NATO.

The last change is to simply substitute "should" for "must" in the subparagraph relating to the implementation of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. This will avoid the connotation that the United States is dictating to an organization of sovereign states.

Finally, Mr. President, I want to express my own personal view concerning

the desirability of our European Allies conducting operations in their own backyard. I have long been a supporter of the ESDI and I am a supporter of the U.S.-sponsored Defense Capabilities Initiative that was recently adopted by NATO. NATO's Operation Allied Force demonstrated a capabilities gap between the United States and our NATO Allies. I welcome the stated determination of our European Allies to develop the capability to act on their own. I welcome the fact that they are providing more than 80 percent of the forces participating in the NATO-led Kosovo Force. I would welcome it if our European Allies would handle the next crisis that develops in Europe. I would be happy if the United States' contribution was limited, for instance, to providing such things as command and control, communications, and intelligence support and I would be even more pleased if the United States didn't have to provide any support and our European Allies were capable of handling a crisis on their own.

I have characterized the United States as being a junior partner and the European Allies being the senior partner in the KFOR peacekeeping mission. I know that there are many people, including some within the Administration who don't like that characterization, but I see nothing wrong with it.

Mr. President, the United States Congress for years has urged Europe to play a greater role in its own defense and to bear more of the collective security burden in NATO. I, for one, can take yes for an answer.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be agreed to, the resolution and preamble be agreed to en bloc, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, that any statements relating thereto be placed in the RECORD as if read in the appropriate place.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 2776) was agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, with its preamble, reads as follows:

[The resolution was not available for printing. It will appear in a future edition of the RECORD.]

**ORDERS FOR TUESDAY,  
NOVEMBER 9, 1999**

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it adjourn until the hour of 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday, November 9. I further ask consent that on Tuesday, immediately following the prayer, the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date, the morning hour be deemed to have